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INTELLIGENCE REPORT

COUNTRY Yugoslavia

SUBJECT

Internal Situation in Yugoslavia

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The following summary of political and economic trends is reported to be applicable to all Yugoslavia as of late 1946.

- Communication and collectivization of all industry, economic enterprises, and banking is proceeding at an accelerated rate.
- 2. A unified not of co-operatives under state supervision is being set up to embrace all peasantry, for the purpose - according to source-of obliging the peasants to serve the political and economic ends of Communism.
- 3. All internal political opposition parties are suppressed, and their activities rigidly forbidden.
- it. The two principal religions, Cathodox and Catholic, are being persecuted and deprived of any charce of carrying on their activities, since they are regarded by the regime as the main centers of political resistance.
- 5. Thegal forces in the shape of large-scale military formations have been eliminated. However, small terrorist groups continue to exist and are a cause of constant annoyance and difficulty to the government.
- 6. Under pressure and with tremendous expenditure of human effort, the reconstruction of the country is proceeding rapidly on a large scale. Despite all difficulties, noticeable results have been achieved.
- 7. Popular dissatisfaction with the regime is very great, but is kept more or less under control by reason of the terrorist methods employed by the state in suppressing all opposition.
- 8. Federal elections were conducted in the same atmosphere of terror as prevailed during the November 1945 elections. Each Central UDB (formerly OZNA) has a special section called "Election UDB" responsible for intimidation and terrerizing of the voters. During these elections no opposition ballet-boxes were to be seen at the polling places, and the elections themselves amounted to a mere registration on the electoral lists of those who had and had not voted. Such procedure had a very marked intimidating effect on the population, who were well aware that those who did not vote were automatically put on a black list of opponents to the regime. Accompanying this Communist agents spread rumors to the effect that failure to vote would result in loss of

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ration cards, dismissal from present employment, and permanent unemployment. In other words, the population was terrified into believing that non-voters would be doomed to lead the life of political outcasts.

- 9. Purchase by the government, under compulsion, of farm products at unreasonably low fixed prices, has aroused the resentment of the peasantry. The people were accustomed to disposing of their produce on the free market without restrictions, and such acquisitive methods, carried out with the application of force, are remainiscent of the German occupation, under which the practice originated.
- 10. The campaign against the Allies is proceeding throughout the whole of Yugoslavia both openly and through secret agents. In the daily press, at meetings, rallies, and particularly in the Army the anti-Allied propaganda campaigns continue branding the Allies as "imperialists, capitalists, oppressors of small peoples, exploiters of the working masses, centers of reaction". Officially, the British and Americans are now referred to as "our former allies".

## 2. Serbia

- 1. The activities of opposition political parties have been almost entirely eliminated through threats, arrests and physical violence. With the departure and exile of Milan Grol, its leader and former Vice-President in the Tito Covernment, the Democratic Party can be regarded as negligible in influence. The leader of the Radical Party, (one of the largest in Serbia), Dr. Lazar Markovich, was sentenced to ten years at hard labor. Hisa Trifunovich, who left London to return to Yugoslavia, was arrested some two months ago. The leader of the Independent Democratic Party, Dr. Duda Boskovich, was accosted and beaten following his issuance of an anti-regime manifest. The opposition press is non-existent.
- 2. A new political trial is anticipated shortly to deal with Prince Paul Karadjordjevich, now in exils, former royal regents Dr. Ivo Perovich and Dr. Radenko Stankovich, and Dr. Aleksander Cincar-Markovich, who has been kept in a Belgrade UDB prison since the days of the liberation. Several other persons will appear in the defendants box to fill up the list. Everyone of them will be charged with having collaborated with the enemy. A specific point with which Prince Paul is likely to be charged is an allegation that, under orders of the British Foreign Office, he negotiated an agreement with the Germans to secure their flank for their attack on the Soviet Union.
- 3. Compulsory acquisition of grain by the government progressed very slowly; especially as the people are doing their best to hide their produce by all available means, evading delivery in defiance of the drastic collecting measures the state has inaugurated. In many villages, prominent peasants have been arrested for non-delivery of crops; and in numerous places throughout Servia notably around Homolje, Sabac and Kragujevac guerrillas are obstructing and making impossible the deliveries prescribed by the state authorities.
- 4. Coercion to join the "Popular Front" has been applied under various pretexts and with the use of threats. Fopular resistance is noticeable and manifests itself in different shapes and varying degrees of strength throughout Serbia. Guerilla bands are numerous, and operate over the entire Serbian



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territory, terrorizing Communist henchmen and government functionaries. In certain areas the guerillas appear in groups of 50 to 150 strong. Groups of three and larger bands carry out small-scale sabotage acts, disarm militia men, seize foodstuffs, kill prominent supporters of the Communist regime and set fire to Communal files and co-operative buildings. Nearly every day there are at least ten such incidents. Prominent Communists do not risk spending a night in a Serbian village.

## 3. Croatia

- I. Croatia is still reacting from the impressions produced by the conviction of Archbishop Stepinac. The people are embittered, and priests, defying the orders issued by the authorities, hold masses for his salvation. Several cases of assaults made by the Communists on local priests have occurred thus far. An appeasement line used by the Communist agents during the meetings is that after all Stepinac does not fare so badly; he has two rooms and a kitchenmaid at his disposal at Lepoglava (the State Prison). Stepinac's defense speech has been circulated throughout Croatia in the form of an illegal leaflet.
- 2. The activities of opposition parties in Croatia are at a standstill. The former foreign minister Dr. Ivan Subasich is kept under house arrest. Marsenka Radich and Hira Kosutich, who had started publishing an opposition paper "Slobodni Dom" (Free Home), only two numbers of which appeared, were promptly silenced by the authorities. Radich had to sign in the presence of UDB a statement renouncing all attempts to interfere in politics in the future. HSS (Croatian Peasant Party) leaders Engineer August Kosutich, Dr. Barisa Smoljan, and others recently released from a camp are uncertain of their future.
- 3. New trials are expected to begin shortly against:
  - A. Dr. Vlatko Macak, Dr. Juraj Krnjevich, Dr. Josip Torbar, and other HSS leaders in exile charged with collaboration with the Ustashi.
  - B. Dr. Barisa Smoljan, Engineer August Kosutich, Dr. Tvo Andres, and other prominent HSS leaders residing in Yugoslavia, charged with collaboration with Ustashi and the Germans. They are accused of having negotiated in 1944 with Kronholz, who was allegedly acting on behalf of Dr. Neubacher, Reich Southeast Plenipotentiary Minister.
  - C. Ustashi leaders now in Yugoslavia who have been handed over to Tito by the Western Allies.
- 4. Pressure is being brought upon the Croatian population by partisan functionaries to join the "Popular Front". Communist agents have spread rumors that whoever does not possess a Popular Front membership card may be not only deprived of a ration card but possibly even deported to Russia for labor service.
- 5. The President of the Croatian Federal Government, Dr. Vladimir Bakarich, was strongly criticized at a Yugoslav C.C.C.P. meeting for maving released from internment and reinstated in his former position of Groatian opera conductor, Lovro Matacich, chief Ustashi bandleader. He was also criticized in general for displaying consideration and tolerance towards certain

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prominent Croatian personalities of the pre-liberation period. A change may be expected in the Croatian Government, and it will likely result in a decided swing to the left from the policies of the present officials.

- 6. Government purchasing commissions, in their efforts to obtain grains, are meeting with continued peasant refusal to deliver. Acts of reprisal on both sides are frequent. The abuses employed by minions of the government only serve to bring about heightened activities on the part of the Crusaders and guerrilla groups. In certain areas of Dalmatia and Hercegovina the state authorities have been unable as yet to form communal committees because the local inhabitants are loath to assume such unpopular functions.
- 7. So-called "precanski" Serbs those living in Croatia a major part of whom joined the Partisans to escape Ustashi massacres and who appeared to have been the main supporters of the Communist regime in Croatia since, now feel dissatisfied. Where the Serbs are in the majority in such areas as Kapela-Dabar-Plitvicka Lakes, Livko Petrova Selo and Tusilovic-Vojnik-Petrizia a "White Eagles" underground movement has spring up and carries out continual acts of sabotage and terrorism. The Partisans have three times set fire to the forests adjoing Kapela because of illegal activities alleged to have been developing there.

## 4. Slovenia

- I. Slovenia being a strongly Catholic region, the trial and conviction of Archbishop Stepinac produced a political effect wholly unfavorable to the current regime. As in Croatia, Stepinac's defense oration has been circulated through- out Slovenia illegally and the clergy continues to hold services praying for his release. Franc Fishar, parish priest of Ljubljana, who has always been known for his pro-Communist attitude and support of the Tito government, as a gesture of protest renounced and handed back to the Slovene Federal Government all decorations which had been awarded to him by the Tito Government.
- 2. Apart from a considerable number of Catholic priests who have been murdered, the following Catholic priests are being held in the UDB prison in Ljubljana, without the legal processes to which they are entitled under law: Father Hartin Jurcek, Caron Dr. Joze Pogacnik, Lazarist Jacob Zagar, Lazarist Lovro Sedej, Parish Priest Mirko Bartol, Seminary Professor Ivan Olenc, Parish Priest Oblak, Parish Priest Darko Slepsak, Parish Priest Klemenci and others. This fact further increases the political resistance of the Slovene population.
- 3. The statement made by Togliatti following his November agreement with Tito in Belgrade, had severe repercussions among the Slovene population. A considerable number of these people were originally attracted to support the Tito cause, because of Tito's supposedly unalterable determination to make Trieste a Yugoslav city. The agreement, of course, indicated that this stand had been abandoned. Reports from Ljubljana indicated that the Slovene people, as well as certain protagonists of the Tito regime, are profoundly shaken and disillusioned. For example, the Slovene, Edo Marusich, Minister of Posts in the Central Government, expressed to his intimates his resentment and dissatisfaction with the Communist regime, as a result of this compromise.
- 4. By the end of October the campaign waged against the Anglo-American allies reached its climax and resulted in such slogans as: "Death to the Allies", "Death to American UNRMA" appearing on the walls of Ljubljana houses.



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- 5. Continuous small-scale resistance by illegal armed nationalist groups takes place, especially in the mountain regions. They carry out acts of sabotage and cause waves of unrest among the population by spreading verbal and written propaganda. These forces are most active in the areas of Pohorje, Crni, Vrh, and Brezovic.
- 6. The Slovenian workers are dissatisfied because they are obliged to perform extra work in textile mills and see their products go to the Soviet Union, while their own people go miserably dressed.
- Bosnia and Hercegovina 1. Over the territory of Bosnia and Hercegovina, with its mixed population of Serbs, Croats and Moslems, the most notable efforts of the Crusaders and other resistance groups are occurring. Continuous fighting on a considerable scale is taking place, and the efforts here seem more smoothly coordinated than in any other part of Yugoslavia. Illegal units repeatedly blow up railroad tracks, halt trains and trucks, set fire to stores, and attack isolated Partisan units. In September armed groups made a foray into Sarajevo

and set fire to three large storehouses. The railway line Sara evo-Slavonski Brod is an object of persistent attacks and was repeatedly ou ... during October and November. The resistance groups twice invaded the suburbs of Br ko and have several times attacked the supply points on the "Youth Railway" Line Brcko-Banovici. There are extensive regions where Communists dare not remain overnight, being obliged to stay in the larger centers with strong Partisan garrisons.

- 2. Apart from the feeling of general personal and material insecurity, there is an acute shortage of money, food, and clothing, and poverty is widespread. The people of these regions, despite their age-long tradition of poverty, supported, fed, and housed the Partisans throughout the duration of the war and were promised an improvement in living conditions as a reward. The present realities have deeply disillusioned them.
- 3. The Moslems, who were the chief supporters and bearers of the Partisan regime in Bosnia, are now forming illegal units called "Green Cadre", which specialize in passive resistance by deliberately hampering the execution of any order or measure originating with the government. There are numerous Moslem villages in which the Communists cannot establish local authority organizations.
- The real and genuine leaders of the Bosnian Moslems are former minister Dr. Sefkija Behmer and former MP from Sarajevo, Sahin-Agich. These men are the successors of the late Mehmed Spaho, leader of MJO (Yugoslav Moslem Organization). Although Sahin-Agich fought with the Partisans since 1943, he was recently expelled from their ranks, and Behmen is now living in seclusion. A strong campaign denouncing this pair has been launched in the local paper "Sarajevski List", as well as at public meetings. Avdo Humich, leader of the Moslem Partisans and a minister in the Bosnia and Hercegovina Federal Government, has denounced them as "enemies of the people". This may be regarded as a likely overture to a new political trial of anti-Tito Moslems to be held in Sarajevo.

Macedonia Relatively more civi; freedom is enjoyed in Macedonia than elsewhere, owing,

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perhaps, to the proximity of the territory to the Bulgarian and Greek frontiers. General dissatisfaction with the regime is, however, reported to be very great. Source timates that 25% of the population support the regime, 25% are either pro-Serbian or pro-Bulgarian, while the remaining 50% would favor an independent Macedonia under Anglo-American protectorate.

- 2. Recently Antonov-Cento, former Chairmen of Avnoj (Yugoslav People's Anti-Fascist Liberation Council) and present President of the Macedonian Parliament attempted, together with thirteen parliament members, to make his way across the Greek border. Their capture by border guards has apparently strengthened the already deep-seated dissatisfaction with the Central Government in Macedonia.
- 3. So far the Communists have not succeeded in gaining popular acceptance because authority has been placed in the hands of a group of incompetent and inexperienced non-Macedonians who enjoy no public support or respect.
- h. Early in October a political trial commenced in Skoplje. The accused are: (1) Vija Sajkovich, Chetnik commander of Porec; (2) Slobodan Konstantinovich from Skoplje; (3) Alexander Toholj, a merchant from Skoplje; (4) Miodrag Petkovich, an employee from Skoplje; (5) Predrag Tisenkovich, a member of the Skoplje National Theatre; (6) Spasa Spasovski; (7) Miliveje Vasich; (8) Cana Kosanova (female); and (9) Boris Neskobski. All of the defendants are charged with having been involved in the formation of Illegal guerrilla units and with having maintained illegal relations with the said units.
- 5. Illegal units are active and are being led by the son of a prominent Serbian leader of World War I, Vasilije Trbich. They operate on a small scale and mainly in the region surrounding Sar Planina. The authorities have several times resorted to such extreme measures as setting forests on fire in an effort to drive these units out into the open.
- 7. Montenegre
  1. Following an assassination attempt on Tite and his suite in July of this year on Montengrin soil, the regime took drastic steps. A number of Communist functionaries were arrested, while KNOJ and regular army units were replaced, the implication being that they were in some way linked up with illegal national units.
  - 2. Illegal groups, so-called "Zelanisi" (Green Men) led by a Montenegrin brigadier, arsts Popovich, though not large in numbers, are active and enjoy considerable popular support. Practically every community of any size has a local underground organization liked with "the forests". The Communists and their families live in great fear of these underground activities.
  - 3. In accordance with the carrying out of a "social security" scheme for Partisan families, the authorities have been effecting a steady sizeable transfer of these families from Montenegro to colonize the Srem and Vojvodina provinces. The terrain, climatic and working conditions of their new places of residence do not suit many of the femilies. Therefore, they have been returning on their own initiative to their native country. The resulting confusion and disappointment have increased the existing resentment.

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